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563

among the Elɛ́ngɛ́ beyond the Tshuapa. All of them are beyond the scope of this study. The Bombwanja are divided into Basunɛ́ and Bonkoso, and the Boɛ́ndɛ́ are considered their bɔ́nankáná (sister's son).

Bombwanja were originally Mbɔ́lɛ́, for certain words and idioms in their dialect are reminiscent of the Lombɔ́lɛ́.

Let us briefly enumerate the other tribes -- "pure" Nkundɔ́ --
101 who form the subject of this study:
619 1. The Injɔ́lɔ́, "sister's son" (bonankáná) of the Ntómbɛ́ and the Bolɛ́ngɛ́ who live beyond the Boloko. They are divided into three groups [9] -- Engɔ́njɔ́, Wesɛ́, and Ngombe, (1) each of which comprises

1. West of their territory are to be found the remains of a group of former inhabitants of the area, whom the present inhabitants call Tompoko (or Basɛ́kɛ́ Bofáka l'Elɛ́kɛ́) but who are completely unknown to me.

a subdistrict [sous-chefferie] for administrative purposes. A small segment is to be found outside the area under discussion, between the Boloko and Coq. (2)

2. The southern Injɔ́lɔ́ are often called Imoma.

2. The Boángí (and their subgroup, the Besombɔ́), related to the Bokála of the Losanganya region. (3)

●[114]

3. On the ethnographic map of the Belgian Congo prepared and published by Dr. J. Maes, the territory of the Boangi is marked with the name "Bokuala." There is no tribe or village by that name. Unless an insulting and humiliating nickname (bokwala, "slave") is involved, the name may result from an erroneous use of the name of the present chief of the Boangi, Bokwála.

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619 9. The Bongale. Three large villages belonging to this group are to be found in the territory under discussion. In order of their size they are: Bongale wǎ Botólɔ́ (among the Lifumba, between the Bonsómbɛ́, Loifima and Safsi rivers), Bongale wǎ Ilinga (among the Bakfafa, near Ikéngɛ́), and Bongale wǎ Bosongɛ́ (among the Bonkoso, [563] near Bempumba). The difference between their rules of exogamy and those of the other tribes confirms the view that the Bongale are not true Nkundɔ́. (2)

2. See Chapter V, Article III. There are several other small Bongale groups, but I do not know whether they are related to those mentioned above. Among them are those living near Bonyeka (Busira) among the Bofingi (Bokfila, Boénjola). They may be descended from different ancestors who all bore the name Ngale. The same name may indicate an identical origin, but it may also be derived from different individuals whose names were the same. This statement is generally applicable.

The tribes living between the Jwalé and the Boloko, with whom the Bolénge and the Ntómbá between the Congo and the Boloko are sometimes classified, are grouped under the general name of Ilínga by the Bofingi, Injólɔ́, and Elínga. (3)

● [114] 3. The Bokele tribe listed on the above-mentioned map does not exist. Could this error be due to an incorrect extension of the name of a Boloki village near Bokéma which is called Bokélɔ́?

The Nkundɔ́-Móngo came from the north or the northeast. (4)

[825] 4. The following note may be of interest: The stories and songs of the Nkundɔ́ indicate a

771 In matters of religion the Nkundó recognize the existence of a Supreme Being: Njakomba or Mbombiándá, creator and ruler of all that exists. They do not worship him in any way, however; all their religious practices are addressed to guardian and ancestral spirits. (2)

2. On the subject of the religious conceptions of the Nkundó, see a detailed study by Father Boelaert, M.S.C., in Hooger Leven, 1934, pp. 1612 and 1636, and 1935, pp. 12 and 60.

197 The language of the Nkundó is beautiful, harmonious, flexible, and rich. It has all the qualities needed to become a literary language and is admirably suited to the requirements of teaching. Furthermore, its various dialects are spoken over a considerably large territory, in fact over one of the largest language areas [13] of the Congo. In addition to the religious and devotional books of the 797 Catholic missions, a fairly large collection of various academic text- 214 books is available in this language, thanks primarily to the zeal of the Protestant missionaries. The latter have also published a complete translation of the Bible. Several vocabularies and small grammars have been compiled, and in recent years a large dictionary and an expanded grammar have been added to these, both compiled by A. and L. Ruskin of the Bongandanga Mission. For several years the Protestant mission at Bolenge has been publishing a native magazine, and the Catholic mission is pushing ahead with preparations to publish one also.

114 Father Shebesta's book, Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge, includes a chapter on the Nkundó in which the author gives a good general description of this people. Nevertheless, some of the details given must be accepted with reservations.

121 The general information given above is enough to give the reader a superficial knowledge of the Nkundó.

The purpose of this work is to give a more extensive account of their institutions pertaining to marriage.

As we have previously stated, we are considering only a portion of this people. All our statements cover only the fraction we have delimited. The family institutions of other Nkundó groups are not accounted for, as they are less known to us and we do not want

121 69 is in accordance with justice. The observation that the natives behave in one fashion or another, and that this or that palaver is often settled in a particular way, is not a sufficient basis for concluding that such is the law.

Infractions of the rules of social justice are more frequent than one would suspect. The principles are good, but often passions prevent their application, and frequently there are neither sanctions to support a weakness of will nor rewards to stimulate loyal adherence.

121 114 69 Furthermore, one should not invoke the variability and continuous transformation of native law (as does Dr. T. Seitz, for example, in Africa, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 89) without first establishing whether the judgments rendered have been in conformity with the law. The remark made by this eminent author further on in his article, "Welche Rolle dabei das Machtmoment," etc. ... weakens his first statement and shows precisely that an accurate knowledge of legal prescriptions cannot be attained solely on the basis of the verdicts of tribunals, and that partiality often plays a considerable part. The observation made by the former governor of the Cameroons may be applied to the Belgian Congo and often to "civilized" countries as well -- partially and the abuse of power are nowhere unknown.

121 69 We must also take into account the possibility of the judges' ignorance, as well as our own difficulty in understanding their sentences, since important points of fact and law are sometimes left unmentioned, and yet are implied.

It is not surprising that there are complicated cases where it is very difficult for the natives, however intelligent and impartial, to settle the dispute and provide a fair and legitimate solution. The law cannot foresee for every case the infinite variety of personal, local, and modal circumstances that may occur.

Only the analysis and comparison of diverse cases, [17] their solutions, sanctions, and consequences, together with discussions with discreet and impartial natives who are knowing and skillful and who have learned to know us and to understand what we want to learn from them, and who are sincerely disposed to help us at the same time, can produce a rational and reasoned certainty which conforms to reality. These conditions are numerous, and it is difficult to find them

121 conformity or in opposition to this or that ethnological theory. We are presenting the facts in their entirety, the material portion of the culture as well as its intellectual, psychological, and moral basis. Theory should be based on these facts, not the facts adapted to suit the theories.

In the text of this work the reader will find repetitions, foot-
121 notes, and references. We would have preferred to omit these,
114 since they are always tedious, but their presence was dictated by the nature of the material and by the strictly scientific nature of this work, which we wanted to retain at all costs. We hope in fact that those who wish to study it thoroughly will find these repetitions not an obstacle, but a valuable aid which will help them to obtain a total and precise picture of the material.

Although I have taken the greatest care and all possible precautions to present to the reader only facts and evidence which correspond to reality, and to document [20] everything as completely as possible, this work will inevitably contain gaps, imperfections, even one mistake or another. (1)

> 1. This is especially true with regard to the legal significance of certain practices, a most delicate point of inquiry, which has yet to be thoroughly investigated -- particularly, certain questions concerning the origin of marriage in its various forms.

This material is not exempt from such faults, and it would be pure presumption to pretend otherwise. But science could not advance, nor could the practical purpose of our knowledge ever be accomplished, should we try to achieve the perfection that can be the result only of successive studies by different people, before presenting the results of our research to the public. I would be gratified if others would check my data, criticize it, and supplement and correct it wherever necessary. I hope that this work will also stimulate them to make a similar study of the other segments of the Nkundó-Mongo so that at last we may have a total picture of the matrimonial institutions of this very important people.

114 I should like to express one more wish relevant to this subject. A number of studies by civil servants and government agents, containing a good deal of ethnographic data on various subjects, lie in bales in the bureaus of the Congo, waiting for the day when they will serve as fodder for ever-hungry termites. Would it not be possible to make these documents -- at least the better ones -- available to the public? Even if they contain gaps and errors, they will be gratefully received. They will lead other researchers to explore these questions thoroughly, and through emulation, criticism, and discussion, we will develop an increasing and more accurate knowledge of the natives, [21] their history, their way of life, their laws, their customs, and their mentality, which will be of great benefit for all colonial work.

Some of the terms used in one or another part of this study may appear too coarse. I would rather have avoided them, but I would have had to use veiled expressions and circumlocutions which would have adversely affected the clarity of this work and therefore its value, for it is intended for a purely scientific purpose. I trust the indulgent reader will therefore excuse their presence.

124 Here and there case histories are given in full. I believe that the details are not without interest, since they give a living picture of the mentality of our people. Most of the incidents were [114] collected in the vicinity of Flandria, the area with which I am most familiar. Here and there I have taken the liberty of passing judgment and of recommending solutions to certain problems. I should like to say that in these cases I am expressing opinions which are purely personal.

000 The map appended to this work makes it possible for the reader to find a tribe or village which is under discussion and shows its geographic position amidst the groups that comprise the Mongo-Nkundo people.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have in some way contributed to this work: His Excellency Monsignor Ed. Van Goethem, our venerable vicar apostolic, who gave me permission to carry it out and always encouraged me in my research, understanding fully its practical value for a sensible adaptation which will enable us to establish the Church on a firm foundation; my colleagues, Father Trigalet and Father Wauters, as well as Brother Brants, who took upon

369 548 2) There is a considerable excess of bachelors over eligible women.

[694] 3) The freedom to commit adultery: no sanctions were provided.[1]

4) The difficulty of finding a suitable husband experienced by [586] many girls born in the centers. Marriages between individuals belonging to different groups (especially certain ones) seldom last. And since inhabitants of the centers have no fixed or stable residence, they intend sooner or later to go back to their tribe of origin. Serious-minded parents therefore discourage and thwart these "mixed" marriages. (1)

1. On this subject, read Jadot's fine page in Blancs et Noirs au Congo Belge [Whites and Blacks in the Belgian Congo], p. 132, beginning: "La prostitution devait inevitablement . . . (Prostitution was inevitably . . .).

[361] In the region under discussion there are only a few lightly populated centers: plantations, government or business stations, and small commercial centers. From time to time the bachelors there satisfy their desires with the wives of their fellow workers, and especially with women who come from the interior to sell their products at market. But they do not avoid one of the consequences of prostitution, namely the spreading of venereal diseases.

It is possible to conclude that in the past prostitution existed only in a very broad sense [75] and there was very little of it. In [114] Engel's article, "Les Wangata" op. cit., he writes that among the Wangata "prostitution no longer exists." If the eminent author is using the term according to the meaning in the dictionary, we may ask on what basis he is implicitly stating that this institution existed in the past. If prostitution is broadly defined, then the facts contradict his remark, for actually it has not ceased to develop among the tribes he discussed, who are located very close to the city of Coquilhatville and its various suburbs.

[1] [i.e., in the centers.— Analyst]

2. The nature of walo valuables

583x [301] The walo primarily consists of copper and brass rings. Wrought metal objects (bifeko), such as spears, knives, or axes are also added. [326] Nowadays a part may be made up of simple brass or iron (steel) bars. [435] Goats may be given in addition; a she-goat is worth 5 to 6 rings (nowadays 10), and a he-goat, 3 to 4 bakonga (nowadays 6 to 7). One or more elɔ̃ŋɨ́ bells are greatly prized as gifts.

583x 435 Payment in iron or copper chains (bengɛ́-nyola), in various kinds of bead necklaces, and in leopard's teeth has almost entirely disappeared. Formerly, certain kinds of beads had great value; the big, round bluish-white ones (lonyɔ̃ngu, pl. nnyɔ̃ngu) were worth 1 konga each, the big, oblong blackish ones, cylindrical or rectangular in shape, 2 to 3 centimeters in diameter and 5 to 10 centimeters long (called nkɔ̃ngɛ́) were worth one slave or, nowadays, 20 to 25 bakonga each.

583x Copper (konga) and brass (kɔ̃ngo) are the most important of all. Thus paying the bride price is often referred to as ɛ̃nga la kɔ̃ngo la konga.

● [14] The statement by R.P. Kaptein (in Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 452-543) that original valuables were the benkata, the bingetele, and the mitako is based on an error. [132] The first two types of valuables, also called bendɔ̃ngu by some tribes, were used exclusively by the Ntɔ̃mbɛ́ of Lake Tumba and the adjacent Ekonda (Bosanga, Balɛ́ngɛ́, Lonyanyanga, etc.). The mitako, known in Lonkundo as nngelo, [436] singular longelo, are not native; this monetary unit was introduced by the Independent State.

[177] The practice of making the payment at least partially in money or in objects of European origin (such as fabrics, blankets, sewing machines, trunks, household utensils, etc.) is gradually being introduced. Before the crisis it was already very popular among "white people."

3. The source of the valuables

A young man obtains the valuables for the bride price in various ways. The most usual way and the one which also conforms best to the Nkundɔ́'s familial and social regulations is the use of valuables

383 602 607 a share of his father's goods without the consent of his nkɔ́lɔ́) or the use of the bride prices received for the daughters.

3) If he cannot obtain a wife through his own clan, he is entitled to the bride price of one of his bekwá if it is not first needed by one of her own uncles or brothers. The rights of the latter have priority over that of the nkɔ́lɔ́, unless he settles in his mother's clan. For in that case his rights have precedence over those of the brothers (though never those of an uncle), and he is next in line, after his uncles, to become head of the family. Since he is sister's son, the uncle's children call him "father" just as they call his mother, their paternal aunt, by the name of isɔ́moto ("female father"). He himself calls his first cousins bǎna, "children," and thus has precedence over them. [168]

Thus the rights to authority over the daughters of the nkita on the part of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son are limited by the rights of the uncles and, to a certain degree, of the brothers. (1) But in the inheritance

● [114]

1. In his study "Het Familiehoofd bij de Nkundo-Negers" [The Family Head among the Nkundɔ́ Negroes], Congo, 1930, Vol. 2, p. 332, Father Brepoels somewhat exaggerates the rights of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son.

of widows the rights of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son operate fully, and he may claim the one acquired by means of his bokwá's bride price, who in a way is his nkita (when she is assigned to him they say bali ɛ́kɛ́ nkita, "here is your nkita").

These rules can result in multiple transactions and in a repeated transferring of rights from one of the two clans to the other as well as within the same clan.

The nkɔ́lɔ́'s grandsons call the nkita's grandsons nkwá y'ǎ́mbá, "the excrements of valuables" (an expression which is not at all disrespectful or shocking) because the rights derived from the relationship of nkɔ́lɔ́ and nkita are almost without force. In favorable circumstances they are limited to a little respect and assistance. And if the nkɔ́lɔ́'s grandsons have no other kinship tie with the paternal clan of their second cousins, they cannot even call them by that name.

583* 607 The mutuality of the rights of nkɔ́lɔ́ and nkita is well expressed in the saying, ɔ́mbátɛ́ ńkɔ́átɛ́ wɛ̌, "possess me so that I may 583* 607 possess you." It is like do ut des.

182 [611] It is possible to judge from the preceding descriptions that the bride price has a considerable influence on family relations. Although the Nkundɔ́ system is clearly and manifestly patriarchal, the custom of the bride price and its logical consequences give it certain features which make one think of a matriarchy. This situation comes about quite naturally. Since the bride price is wealth it represents power in society. Through marriage this power is transferred from the husband's clan to the wife's, which is enriched in goods and persons by the bride price that has been received. In a sense, the husband is the provider of his wife's clan. And the child can truthfully maintain that his clan was enriched thanks to his father. As a matter of fact, for the Nkundɔ́, this consideration above all others is the basis for their demands of whatever rights they possess in the mother's clan. [170] The relationship between a woman and her nkita and between their respective children is founded solely on the bride-price system of marriage and has nothing to do with matriarchy. (1)

> 1. But the above considerations may furnish one source of explanation for the origin of that family system.

Consequently, it is unnecessary to erect complicated theories or engage in tortuous speculations in order to explain the creation of this system or to justify it. It is quite simply the outcome of the payment of a bride price in valuables that are of no use except in connection with a similar purpose.

Nevertheless, although the system of the nkita is a natural and logical consequence of marriage by means of a bride price, it is not a necessary consequence. The bride price exists in all the tribes of the Congo, but it does not seem to have resulted everywhere 583* 174 in the institution of the nkita.

●114 607 What has given rise to this institution among the Nkundɔ́? Father Brepoels (loc. cit., p. 339) gives the following explanation:

174 583* 114 607 "The sale (sic) of the woman and her loss of liberty must naturally have aroused her indignation. The man probably had a great deal of difficulty in persuading her to resign herself to it. It was necessary to arrange for some compensation and that is how the system of the nkita originated. That is how the woman acquired rights over her nkita and how nonexistent prerogatives were attributed to her children: they became the superiors, the "fathers" of the mothers' family . . . . The elders, the wealthy, profited from this system, which released them from any concern for their daughters: the girls could be sold while they were still very young and then if, later, they complained of the injustice that had been done them, the elders consoled them by reminding them of their rights and those of their sons over the nkita and her offspring . . . moreover, this system released the elders from their duty of obtaining wives for their sons and removed any reason for the latter to claim their father's wives."

This explanation for the origin of the nkita system is unthinkable, for it is entirely contrary to everything [171] we know about the nature of Nkundó matriage. But it seems plausible that the fact that the old father benefited from this institution helped it to flower and spread. Native greed also may have played a role.

583* 174 607 Nevertheless, we must seek beyond the operation of causes which have contributed to the spread and retention of the system in Nkundó society for those that led to its origin.

Need we invent complicated hypotheses for this purpose? It seems to me that we need not; we can be satisfied with the native explanation: the nkóló's rights over the nkita spring naturally from her dominance over the latter, for the nkita's marriage was made possible by the valuables paid for the nkóló; whereas the rights of the nkóló's sons over the nkita's children are derived from the fact that in the Nkundó hierarchy the relationship of the latter to the former is that of "son" to "father."

The secondary causes mentioned above, together with the necessity of reconciling the interests of the various members of the family, subsequently amplified the system.

583* 607 Exceptionally it may happen that a mother becomes her daughter's nkita. Such was the historic case of Bekombe of Belondó (Bonjoku) and her daughter, Mbélé. The daughter's bride price was

583 men although their first marriage has not been broken and no new
581 marriage agreement has been concluded.
184 The data given above provides no confirmation in the
[114] Nkundó tribes under study of the statement made by Engels "Les Wangata [The Wangata]," Revue congolaise, 1910, p. 35) that among the Wangata "her husband can exchange her . . . she can make no protest." (1)

1. The Ekonda apply the term lienjé only to an exchange of daughters or sisters. They have a specific term: mpéngó. Note, by the way, that certain Mbólé tribes who practice a true wife exchange designate it by the same name: impéngó.

Article VII. Purchase

432 The purchase of women is not practiced by the Nkundó tribes
562 under discussion here nor even by the Bombwanja. The practice is to
588 be found only among the Elíngé. What is involved is not a marriage by means of a bride price but a real purchase; that is, a man buys a woman from her husband for a certain sum. He does not go through the woman's parents, as in an ordinary marriage by bride-price payment, but addresses himself directly to the husband.

In general it is the woman who makes the proposal that a man buy her in this manner. Sometimes a man wants to take a woman and
[121] first comes to an agreement with her. Before the Europeans arrived such a situation generally led to a war between clans or villages. After an armistice the palaver was settled, and the [219] purchaser paid the husband. Nowadays, since the Nkundó no longer dare to
[117] fight because of the legal sanctions that inevitably follow, when a woman abandons her husband for another man who wants to buy her, the parties involved bring the palaver before the judges. As the woman wants only her new husband, and as, on the other hand, war and the punishment of women have been abolished, the first husband has no

776 942 [791] women receive other signs: an unexpected obstacle in the form of a stone, a stump, a root, the capture of a tree frog which comes and jumps onto the shoulder, etc

A spirit loves and protects only a child he himself has given. He abhors and hates to the death the living gifts of his fellow spirits. If there are several bilímá in the vicinity of a single village, however, the Nkundó explain the absence of the usual rivalries by considering them as related: one is the husband, another the wife, others the children; that is why they do not oppose each other.

776 943 Thus an elímá is hostile to any fetus not of his creation. Nevertheless, his spiteful action only begins at the end of several weeks, and even then the pregnancy must have gone far enough to be visible (ímí jôkela isómbá) Does it take time for him to obtain evidence that the fruit in question is undoubtedly his own gift?

In any case the consequence of this belief is that a woman who has been pregnant for several months cannot long [472] reside in foreign parts, and one who, after conception, has accompanied a husband who has gone to work elsewhere, returns to her village to complete the last period of pregnancy and to deliver.

[751] However, there is an antidote (mengó) against this murderous action of the spirits. It may be obtained from a person who knows the recipe (this person is not the nkanga or "doctor"). The protective compound is wrapped in a bit of cloth and, by means of a thread of fibers from the lokóká creeper, is tied in the middle of a rope braided with the fibers of the ikuluyafódó bush, which the threatened woman ties around her hips. (1)

[114] [115]

1. These data on the subject of the elímá is diametrically opposed to the ideas of Father Schebesta (Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge, p. 241, and W. Schmidt, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Vol. 4, p. 322), based on the word of his interpreter, Bern. Bongonga of Bodiama (Bombwanja) (now deceased), who was

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obliged in my presence to retract his statements under the pressure of crushing objections on the part of a considerable number of other natives See also Father Boelaert, Hooger Leven, 1935, p. 60, and Congo, 1936, Vol. 1, p. 42, as well as Hulstaert, Congo, 1936, Vol. 2, p. 670.

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2. The beginnings of pregnancy

The first months following the cessation of menstruation are called bofoswa. The oral expression is -foswa jémi (jémi meaning "fetus")

A woman who has just conceived no longer has any success in looking for caterpillars or in fishing (by scooping, whether with balénge hooks or drugs, called lisola). She is unable to catch anything while the efforts of her companions are fruitful. That is because the bofoswa is wéka, that is, a cause for a lack of success (bómoto ôa wéka ífóáte) Note that this word may be derived from the verb éka, "to place an obstacle."

The husband of a woman in this condition is no better off. His wife's wéka is communicated to him as well as to all those of his relatives who [473] live in the same village or, as the natives say, ólé mpoké emônkolé, "one who eats from the same pot," and okisí ilombe ímonkolé, "one who lives in the same house." Friends are not harmed, even if they live in the same settlement as the pregnant woman, nor are relatives living elsewhere.

The wéka brings misfortune to anyone tainted with it. Thus if he goes hunting, he will return empty handed; if he participates in a war he will be wounded. Furthermore, if there is a leopard in the vicinity he will choose to kill that man. An elephant will detect his presence and try to kill him. A snake will bite him more readily than another. At market he will be charged more for everything.

This burdensome situation continues during the entire period of pregnancy, hence until the birth of the child.

[188]

Introduction

● 114 This study is based on the preliminary work connected with the publication of the results of the "Mainz Congo Expedition 1951-54" in which I participated as an assistant to Dr. Sulzmann.

121 In order to describe and characterize the kinship and local groups of the Ekonda, they should first be regarded as ethno-sociological ideal types (1). For this purpose it was

1. For the concept of type, see Thurnwald, Menschliche Gesellschaft [Human Society], Vol. 1, p. 7 ff.; Mühlmann, Methodik [Methodology], p. 114 ff.; and Wörterbuch der Soziologie [Dictionary of Sociology], p. 224 f.

necessary to obtain a clear understanding of the meaning of the terms used to describe the types. Studies by Thurnwald (2),

2. Menschliche Gesellschaft [Human Society], Vols. 2, 4.

Kirchhoff (3), Murdock (4) (4a), Radcliffe-Brown (5), Lowie (6),

3. "Verwandtschaftsorganisation [Kinship Organization], Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, pp. 85-193; "Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen [Kinship Terminology], "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 64, pp. 41-71.

4. Social Structure.

4a. "Changing Emphasis."

5. "Study of Kinship Systems."

121 definitions to present a theory of development, the differentia-
114 tion between the two terms appears to me to be very useful, and this seems particularly true if we accept the first definition of clan given by Thurnwald and regard the second as completely irrelevant for our present purposes.

It is true that our A-group lives in a certain district
64 which it claims for itself as its own "province," but it is never-
61 theless difficult to describe this district as a politically sovereign community. A political nature could rather be attributed to those groups which, up to now, we have not described at all, i.e., the settlement communities. Proceeding further, the A-group is integrated into the B-group, the B-group into the C-group, thus forming an endless chain; among those tribes who have a greater degree of genealogical consciousness than the Ekonda -- for example, the neighboring Bongili (25) -- the hierarchy of groups

25. Boelaert, "Les Bongili."

ends with mankind, the hierarchy of ancestors with God.

Thurnwald emphasizes this ranked structure, especially
121 in discussing the kinship group. Kirchhoff, however, fails to
64 deal with the problem of the kinship group in a manner which would be of value to us in differentiating between kinship group and clan. Dealing with the organizational structure of the peoples he discussed, he naturally was more interested in defining the border between large family and kinship group. Lowie (26)

26. Primitive Society.

only discusses the kinship group, "sib," calling it the "'clan' of British anthropologists", (p. 108) or "clans," if patrilineal, and "gentes," if matrilineal, "of most American anthropologists." The "ad infinitum" (p. 106) is also stressed by him in relation to the kinship group. Lowie also admits the possibility of subdivision with respect to his "sib," and consequently he even includes in the kinship group such forms as the "moieties," which according to Thurnwald's definition are still part of it, but which in his view

[218] The Nkundo [Nkundu], or Mongo, are an important ethnic group of the central basin of the Belgian Congo. They are patriarchal (1). I lived among their west-central tribes for 20 years.

1. The rules and many details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo have already been set forth in Le Mariage des Nkundo by Father G. Hulstaert (Belgian Royal Colonial Institute, 1938).

We call a clan, in the ethnic sense, the group of paternal blood relatives who have an autonomous territory in common. This resembles closely what Anglo-Saxon researchers like to call a "lineage" (2).

2. The quotations in this article are from The Pattern of Bera Kinship, by J. F. Holleman (Capetown University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949).

1. Wise

A Nkundo calls his own clan his wise, from the word ise which means "father." My wise thus includes:

1. My paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters who are called nkoko (pl., bankoko), "grandfather, grandmother."

2. The sons of my male bankoko, including my own father, all of whom are my "fathers" (ise; pl., baise).

The sisters of my "fathers" are my "female fathers" (isomoto, composed of isé and bomoto, "woman").

3. The sons of my "fathers" are my older brothers (botomoko; pl., batomoko) and younger brothers (boikune; pl., baikune). The daughters of my "fathers" are my sisters (nkâna; pl., bankâna).